VII. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Clans

The tribe is divided into some thirty clans, grouped into moieties, whose names I could never discover; I shall therefore refer to them here simply as A and B. The Tukuna language has only one word, kɨa', for both tribe and clan. In Brazil, moiety A has fifteen clans, moiety B twenty-one. It is possible that in Colombia and Peru there are Tukuna clans that are not represented in Brazil. Descent is patrilineal. Members of different clans but of the same moiety deal with one another reciprocally as ma'i"e, "brother" (vocative).

The Tukuna know that, whether in Peru, Colombia, or Brazil, they form a homogeneous and distinct people compared with the other Indian tribes or the Neo-American nations. However, they have never had the slightest political cohesion.

A certain feeling of solidarity unites clansmen, even extending to all the clans of the same moiety. At least I noticed that, if no other considerations were involved, in any problem the Indian would automatically place himself and his sympathies on the side of the members of his clan or moiety without, however, being morally obligated to aid them.

Of the fifteen clans of moiety A, twelve have the names of trees, two the names of insects, and one the name of a mammal.

Clans of Moiety A

Clan	Related Tree or Animal	Additional Correlation
a:'ru	auahy grande (*Thevetia* sp.)	dyɔ|'; acutipurú, squirrel (*Sciurus* sp.)
čɨ"vëru	auahy pequeno (?), a bird	
na'i"yɛɛ	saúva (*Atta* sp.), ant	Tessmann's "náika"
tɛku	saúva (another species?)	
čiva'	seringarana, a tree	a'i (*onça pintada*), spotted jaguar, Tessmann's "áika"
nɨ"/nɨ"	pau mulato, a tree (sp. ?)	nɨ"/ma suçuarana (*Felis concolor*)
čɨɨ'	acapú, tree (*Vouacapoua* sp.)	a'iru, dog
ë	genipapo (*Genipa* sp.)	dyɔ|'; acutipurú, squirrel, (*Sciurus* sp.) (another sp. ?)
pu'k|rë	muirapiranga (*Brosium* sp.)	
ču"a	caraná (*Mauritia carana*, Wall.)	
të'ma	burity grosso (*Mauritia* sp.)	
va'ira	açahy (*Euterpe* sp.)	
a'ičanari	genipapo do igapó, tree (sp. ?)	
kë'turë	maracajá grande (*Felis pardalis*)	
ayë'nɨ"ɛi	burity fino (*Mauritia* sp.)	

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614 Of the trees, five are identified with animals. Probably the clan kɛ̃'turɛ̃ (maracajá grande; *Felis pardalis*) is also to be identified with some tree, perhaps 616 with the pʊ'kirɛ̃, but of this I am not certain. The identification of trees with 824 mammals is due to the mystic Tukuna conception of the soul (nai^{a}-arɨ ma'-ù) 825 which certain trees possess. The tree's soul leaves it during the night in the form 774 of the animal with which the tree is identified, returning at daybreak. "a'i-kɨa' na i^{a}i^{a} ya čiva'" ("Clan Jaguar is seringarana") or "a'i na i^{a}i^{a} na-a'e ya čiva'" ("Seringarana has the soul of the painted jaguar"). In vain I tried to discover the reason for including the two clans having insect names with these clans that have tree names; no soul of a tree takes the saúva ant as its nocturnal form. Two informants told me independently that the relation between trees and saúva was that the ants were in the habit of crawling on trees.

614 All the clans of Moiety B have the names of birds.

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Clans of Moiety B[1]

Clan	Related Bird	Additional Correlation
ta'u	toucan (*Rhamphastos* sp.)	
tuyuyu'	tujujú (*Tantalus loculator*)	
aivɛ̃'ru	urumutúm (*Nothocrax urumutum*)	
kaurɛ̃'	japihím (*Cassicus cela*, L. sp.)	
barɨ'	japú (*Ostinops decumanus*, Pall.)	
ãɔɨ'	arara vermelho (*Ara macao*)	
čara'	arara canindé (*Ara ararauna*)	
vɔɔ'	maracanã grande (*Ara maracana* ?)	
a'/ta	maracanã; another species (*Ara* sp. ?)	
vɛ̃u'	parrot (*Amazona* sp.)	
ãu/aɳ^{a}	mutum cavallo (*Mitua mitu*)	Tessmann's "nãenoka"
mɔru	maracanã; another species (*Ara* sp. ?)	
ɛ̃'/ča	urubú rei (*Gypagus papa*)	
da:'vɨ	gavião real (*Thrassaetus harpya*)	
pu^{a}a'ka	arapaço (*Nasica* sp.)	
ɔta'	chicken	
ɛ̃'/nɛ̃	parakeet (*Conurus* sp. ?)	
dyavɨru'	jaburú (*Mycteria americana*)	
ãa'u^{a}a	socó (*Ardea* sp.) or maguary (*Ardea cocoi*)	

[824] The relations between the clan member and the tree or animal the name of which he bears are extremely few and do not follow any rule whatsoever.

304 614 It is clear that members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', formerly used facial tattooing in designs similar to the facial feathering of these birds. I did not suc-

[1] It will be noted that the author lists only 19 clans here, although he has previously referred to 21.—Ed.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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ceed in obtaining any evidence to show whether the other clans also had any characteristic or distinctive facial tattoo, for this practice was abandoned so long ago that the memory of it has been obliterated.

The former existence of similar distinctive elements, now lost, would explain some of the differences in the statements of the early writers about Tukuna facial tattooing (see p. 39). Nino once told me that the members of the clan ɔ'/ta' (chicken) could be recognized from afar, since, when walking, they used to nod their heads just like chickens, but as this clan did not live in that locality, he could not prove his statement by concrete examples. In conversation, a certain Indian told some others that he was a runt because he belonged to the clan čë'vë'ru, the name of a small kind of auahy. Lastly, an Indian once said that I should belong to the clan kaurë' (Japihím) because, like that bird, I had blue eyes. In any case, the idea that some characteristic of the eponym should, or may, appear in the members of a clan is not entirely strange to the Tukuna.

In the feather ornaments used even today at the rites of passage there is not a single clan distinction. On the wall of the girl's seclusion hut a figure of a deer is painted, not because this animal is related to any clan, but because the deer is the symbol of that vigilance which the girl and those responsible for her should observe.

It is said that the members of the clan të'ma (Burity) formerly spoke a language different from the others', a statement that could be true only if this clan had been collectively localized. There is a legend that refers to the origin of the clans, but not of their names, since it relates only how the culture hero dyoi', after fishing, in the company of his brother *e'pi*, for the first men, separated his people from his brother's, this separation being the origin of the moieties. Afterward he ordered a *jacurarú* to be cooked, and all were obliged to taste the broth; thus each one learned to which clan he belonged. According to another version, a pot containing a boiled *jacuruxy* was sent from heaven by ta-ë' ("Our Mother") for the same purpose (see p. 114). I do not believe that these facts justify classifying the Tukuna clans as totemic, as the Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis, after only lightly touching the subject, would like to do.[1] There is not a trace of belief in a mystical parenthood common to members of a clan and the respective tree or animal correlated with it, nor do these correlations represent any emotional value.

The personal name.—There is one element, however, by which an informed person may recognize an individual's clan without directly asking him: the personal name, which in veiled fashion indicates or connotes the tree or animal of the clan by reference to some quality, as illustrated in the following tabulation.

Clan čiva'

(Seringarana; jaguar)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ vanë'-kị	false [jaguar], that is, one that does not pursue man	vanë', false; kị, masc name suffix
♂ nu'ë'tị-kị	evil-eyed [jaguar]	nu', bad; ë'tị, eye

[1] The author's opinion only. Most anthropologists would unhesitatingly dub the phenomenon totemic.—Ed.

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♂ ãu/mɨ̃'-kɨ	[jaguar] who places hand on top [of human tracks]	Refers to supposed custom of jaguar's placing its paw on a man's tracks; if the trail is cold, the animal will not follow it.
♂ mɨ̃'matɨ-kɨ	[jaguar] of handsome markings	mɨ̃, handsome; tɨ, markings
♂ dya:'ga-kɨ	[jaguar] who cries from afar	dya:'ga, to cry from afar
♂ a'u'kɨ-na	dangerous [jaguar]	na a'ukɨma, she is dangerous; na, fem. name suffix
♀ mɨ̃'ɛ̃ɨtɨ-na	handsome tracks [of jaguar], that is, fresh tracks	mɨ̃, handsome; ɛ̃au-ɛ̃ɨtɨ', my tracks
♀ ɛ̃ita'-na	[seringarana] on the ground [i.e., rotten]	na'ɨ' ta, fallen tree
♀ bu:'/nɨ̃-na	plump [seringarana]	bu:'/nɨ̃, plump, chubby
♀ dauɲatɨ-na	red leaf [of seringarana]	da'u, red; ɲa'tɨ, leaf

It is noteworthy that all the masculine names refer to an animal, the jaguar, whereas the feminine, for the most part, refer to a tree, the seringarana.

Clan a:'ru
(Auahy grande; agouti)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ ɛ̃ɛrɛ̃ɛ̃-kɨ		na'ɨ'ɛ̃ɛ̃, wider at the bottom; rɛ̃ɛ̃, lengthened. Refers to the auahy-hull rattles hanging together from a cord so that the volume of the rattles is greater at the bottom than at the top where they are tied.
♂ tu:'rɛ̃ɛ̃-kɨ		tu:, to hang; rɛ̃ɛ̃, lengthened. Refers to the pendant hulls of auahy fruit.
♀ dɛ̃ɛ̃'-na	[fruit] being picked [from auahy tree]	dɛ̃'ɛ̃, to pick, pluck
♀ vɛ̃gɨ'nɨ̃-na		vɛ̃gɨ, passing here to there (as a cipó or harpoon line stretched for drying). Refers to new auahy shoots, which are similar to cipó.
♂ vi/vi'ɛ̃-kɨ		vi/vi' reproduces onomatopoetically the noise made by the agouti gnawing fruits.
♂ ɛ̃e:'nɨ'	[agouti] that likes [to eat fruit of] matamatá	ɛ̃e:, envira de matamatá; nɨ', to like [to eat]

Clan ʌ:ɨ'
(Red macaw, *arara vermelha*)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ kvaita'ɛ̃inɨ'-kɨ	[macaw] beating wings [seated]	ta'ɛ̃inɨi', wing; na kva'i, beat
♂ yuɛ̃i-kɨ	[macaw] hopping [from one branch to another]	yuu', to jump from one place to another
♀ ʌuɛ̃irɛ̃-na	[macaw that lets] fall the rest [of the fruit]	ʌu, to fall; ɛ̃irɛ̃, the rest
♀ gɔ'ɛ̃-kɨ	[macaw] that flew	na'ɨ' gɔ'e, he flew

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Clan ãU/nẽ[a]

(Horse turkey, mutum cavallo)

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Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ ɸ'kira-k]	[turkey] that grows a tail	ɸ, to form; k]ra', tail [of a bird]
♂ tĩ'a'k]ra-k]	[turkey] spreading tail in fan	tĩ, to spread tail in a fan; k]ra', tail [of a bird]
♀ ãua'ẽi-na	[turkey] that arrives suddenly	ãU, to arrive; a'ẽi, suddenly. The turkey, after bathing in the clay pit of the taitetũa, dries itself by hopping out with a sudden leap.
♀ mẽẽ'tj-na	[turkey] of good sight	mẽ, good; ẽ'tj, eye, vision, sight

Certain persons, old women especially, command a rich repertoire of various clan names, hence they are summoned and consulted when a child is to be given a name. According to Monteiro Noronha and those who quote him, the name was given after circumcision, that is, "shortly after birth." "This [circumcision] ceremony is a result' of giving a name to the children with celebrations [and] dances in the presence of a horrible figure which is said to be the Devil [dance mask]."[a]

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Today the name is given when the child is one day old, after the bath; it is conferred by a maternal relative, a member of the moiety complementary to the child's, with a preference for the grandmother in whose house the parents and relatives have gathered with the newborn infant. First, however, names are proposed by one of the women who understand these things, as mentioned above, who are invited for this purpose. Afterward the name is newly proclaimed and confirmed at the ceremony of painting the child red with urucú, when it begins to crawl, and at the hair-plucking ceremony, when the child is two years old. The proclamation of the name is always accompanied by the shout of "ye[a]!" and the raising of the child's ornaments into the air.

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Nowadays, the Tukuna, except some children, are all baptized by Capuchin friars of São Paulo de Olivença and bear Portuguese names, often pronounced so as to be quite unrecognizable. Some persons are known only by their baptismal names, even among their tribesmen; but without exception all have and know their native names, and I never observed on the part of the owners any reluctance to divulge their names when asked to do so.

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Moieties

The Tukuna refer to the clan quite frequently, but never to the moiety, yet the latter is of much greater importance. The principal function of the moieties is exogamy, although the Tukuna are not aware of the existence of their dual organization; they know only that members of certain clans may not marry members of certain others.

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[a] Literal translation. The statements are contradictory: "name given after circumcision"; "[circumcision] a result of giving a name."—Trans.

[a] Monteiro Noronha, § 140.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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593 I have occasionally referred and the excesses committed during drunkenness, though characteristic of these people, do not seriously alter the general picture.
592 Among the inhabitants of a house, who are always of the same family, the authority of the father or of the grandfather is supreme, being recognized in an argument, without dispute. The mother or grandmother shares in this authority, especially in the treatment of the daughters. The old man is the owner of the house, though others may have contributed to its construction. If he wishes to move to another locality, all accompany him, even if they are dead set against it.

592 The inhabitants of neighboring houses are generally in some way related, perhaps representing today the ancient communal dwelling. They share their neces-
602 sities and likewise distribute any surplus among themselves, always in the most intimate sociability. The diagram (fig. 12) shows the composition of one of these

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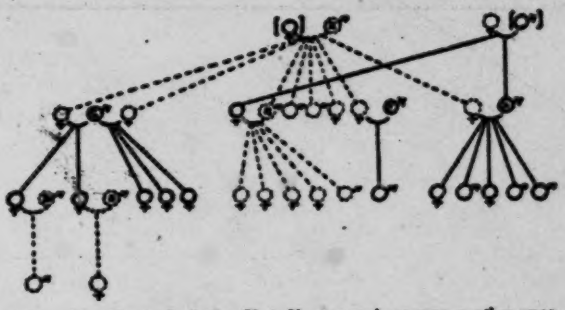

Fig. 12. Clan relationships. Dotted circle, Clan čiva' = seringarana = a'i = onça. Solid line circle, Clan ãũ/nõ = *mutum fave*.

local groupings of related families, comprising three houses with thirty-two inhabitants. Note that A marries the sister of B, and B marries the sister of A. C marries successively two sisters of A; his two sons-in-law live with him; and F, another brother-in-law, lives with A. The group is therefore composed of sons, sons-in-law, grandsons, and great-grandsons of X, deceased.

736 *Widows and orphans.*—In these groups, widows and orphans always find the necessary shelter. A certain widow living with her daughters of thirteen and
589 fifteen years old apparently has her economic life perfectly balanced. The three females plant in the clearing which they themselves are able to clear of undergrowth with a machete; they make farinha; they fish; and they make tucum fiber hammocks for sale. A married son, who lives close by, helps them whenever necessary. Small orphans are adopted by an uncle or aunt, who bring them up with
[587] their own children. Formerly, also, the levirate often relieved the situation of a widow and her children. A widower alone with his small children is in a less favorable economic situation; his place is always in a run-down condition, and the children, during the necessary absences of their father, naturally try to make up to the neighboring relatives. Sooner or later, the widower either remarries or, following the example of his sons, moves in with the family of a relative. This is an outstanding demonstration of the economic importance of the Tukuna woman.

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.